2: Schaden--92 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/77 cont./

585 178 [184] [114] 624 648 I have not found the marriage performed by the ñanderú and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbüá of Xapecó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595 Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 [182] [58] An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbüá, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

837 [586]

/78 cont./

837 black or mulatto who lived at the post, told me that, after resisting for a while, she yielded to seduction because she liked
[177] him. The woman's stepfather took a knife to kill the man, perhaps in obedience to the caboclo pattern.

581 Given the precariousness of the matrimonial unions, mar-
[198] riage does not today constitute a factor of incisive importance in
[177] the lives of many Kayová. At Dourados, where there were even men who changed women from one chicha to another, the situation is tending to improve through the influence of the Christian
• 586 mission that works among the Indians of the post. In the separation of a Kayová couple, the children, whether male or female, usually stay with the mother, as well as the house and the clearing, even though made by the husband. There are cases in which a mother, falling in love with another man, starts to mistreat the children, who constitute a kind of obstacle, inasmuch as the man does not like to take a woman with the children of someone else. It is to be noted in passing that mothers surpass the fathers in rigor in punishing the children. Fights between spouses are caused by alcoholism, jealousy, and the economic incapacity of the /79/ husband. Kayová women not infrequently decide to leave a lazy husband; when a man leaves the woman, it is generally because he has fallen in love with another.

178 It is clear that such a state of affairs will not fail to have
581 profound repercussions in the existence of the whole community,
596 since the Guaraní social structure is essentially based on the re-
586 lations that govern family life. The rhythm of social disorganization is a function of the sphacelation of the primitive great-family. And in many groups of the present day the great-family can no longer exist because of the simple fact that the existence of the elementary family itself is precarious. By its very nature the great-family requires stability of the matrimonial bonds; otherwise, there is not a member large enough to constitute it, particularly since, in the case of divorce, the children -- especially among the Kayová -- preferably stay with the mother, the great-family, on the other hand, being based on the exercise of paternal authority. The example of one of the few great-families that has

2: Schaden--94 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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178 581 596 586 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 178 [651] [551] If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identifies himself with reference to his father; for instance: "Isidroray," son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the [171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child [606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of [591] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 621 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica- [829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

/40/

594 The elementary family among the Cayuá is a self-sufficient unit with regard to the economy, suffering enormously with the loss of one of the persons participating in the economic activity, to the point of its ceasing to function in the case of loss of one
• 586 of the members of the couple. Divorce is common, it sufficing
587 for this that one of the spouses declare to the other that he is going to leave. In general they do not wait long to realize a new
581 marriage. Marriage is considered a very natural and commendable thing, so that nowadays there are few young people who are not married.

753 Death: There are two principal types of sicknesses that can afflict the individual. The so-called "sicknesses of people" are thought to be cured by the use of the large number of remedies
• known by the Cayuá. But for the ailments caused by sorcery no
761 means of cure are known. Although not a very common event, at times the death of some child occurs, which, nevertheless, seems to cause only a relatively small disturbance in the life of
765 the close relatives. The death of an adult is followed by the
764 mourning of the close relatives. It is customary to bury the body the day after the death. They dress it completely, sometimes even with two or more changes of clothing, because the case of a son or daughter who gives a dress to the mother or a pair of trousers and a shirt to the father, on the occasion of their death, is not rare. After the corpse has been placed in the hammock of the deceased, it is taken to the cemetery. The hammock is carried by two men at the same time, distant relatives and friends of the deceased, who take turns after intervals. The objects of personal use are buried with the body, except those of value, such as iron pots, which frequently pass into the hands of some close relative of the deceased. The mourning is great on the occasion of the funeral. All the women weep a great deal, and the men who are close relatives of the deceased also weep. After the body has been placed in the grave, the tomb is closed, a large gourd being put on top of it.